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settlement material mentioned at the beginning of this article, this Khety box is the only pre-XII dynasty object that has yet been found, and it is very curious that the exception should belong to a king who was the hereditary enemy of the Theban house from which Amenemhat sprang. The presence of Khenzer at Lisht should help to settle his somewhat doubtful place in history. Some would place him among the Hyksos, but at Lisht we have not found a single Hyksos cartouche, whereas XIII dynasty names are comparatively common.

Our working staff consisted of Lindsley F. Hall, Albert B. Nixon, and myself. Mr. Hall was primarily responsible for survey and drawing—we owe figures 8 and 17 to his pen—and Mr. Nixon for account keeping and general secretarial work; but in camp a specialist can only specialize in his odd moments, and both took a hand in the thousand and one odd jobs—sorting, mending, cataloguing, packing, carpentering, workmen-physicking, and the like—that play so large a part in the archaeologist's daily round. A. C. MACE.

II. THE WORK OF THE TYTUS MEMORIAL FUND

THE tomb of Neferhotpĕ (No. 49) is now one of the darkest, the dirtiest, and the most disheartening among its many competitors at Thebes, black with smoke, festooned in cobwebs, stripped of its paintings over large parts of its surface, overlaid with a tenacious layer of plaster in others. Only here and there charming or perplexing designs shimmer through the dirt when light can be thrown in on the gloom.

Extra annoyance was added to these difficulties. The native occupants of the tomb were induced some years back by moral (?) suasion to retire outside the entrance, but had prospered there exceedingly and amounted now to man, wife, four or five children, a cow, four goats, eight sheep, a dog and a cat, half a hundred poultry, and billions of flies, etc. (the etc. not being negligible). Aghast at the prospect of being included in this menagerie, and using similar suasion again, I proposed to the man that he should be bought out. "Certainly," he agreed, "so far as I am concerned, but—ware the women-folk." This was clearly the ruse of an over-borne man, since his wife was meek-looking. So I returned next day with a light heart. I found the courtyard (fig. 1) a black mass of vociferating, gesticulating, furious females. These were the reversionary heiresses of the late owner assembled to see that no profit accrued to the solitary male heir in which they did not share, and that the particular lair which was associated with memories of their

father did not pass into infidel hands. Promptly relinquishing purchase, we pleaded for a month's lease of a few cubic meters of air and freedom from the family. Frantic opposition to this was finally overcome in a masterly way. Hurling the most voluble heiress violently against a wall, the owner concluded the bargain before her breath could amount to a caveat. Henceforward there was peace, but for the pathetic efforts of the crushed lady to build a high wall round the spot where the sainted man used to repose, and for the two potent agencies, flies and smells. Time in Egypt is nothing but an ineffective concept. The family *aura* left in the interior was vigorous enough after twenty years to render existence insupportable except to indurated senses. And, if flies in Egypt multiply timelessly by logarithms, those in Tomb 49 outdid their race in fecundity.

This apparently irrelevant prologue explains why the tomb has not been copied since fellahin dug themselves in, and may give an aspect of heroism to the enterprise of the Metropolitan Museum (heroism by proxy), exploding the idea that it consists of making aesthetic studies in the field or the library. It will serviceably remind us, too, that these same fellahin are the legitimate descendants, physical and otherwise, of the men and women whose figures, houses, occupations, merrymakings, and funerals are depicted within.

The date of the tomb is half its interest.

It belongs to the brief period when Egypt, and above all Thebes in Egypt, was just recovering from the rudest shock it had ever felt, the shock of finding a boy on its throne who did not believe in its religion, or, worse still, only believed what was true in it, and who, withdrawing his court into the wilderness, had the arrogance to be happy there, leaving Thebes nothing but its ruts. This shock was now over. The hare-brained boy was dead and his movement little less so. His children had made

the artists were allowed to slip back to Thebes and gain merited influence there. That influence, joined to the prevailing tendency at Thebes, had as its ultimate resultant the Ramesside style. But for the moment it was still fairly pure. Two important tombs of this period are known, both showing a modicum of worldly subjects which suited the revolutionary style, though the distressing condition of their scenes makes a true appreciation difficult. That of Huy (No. 40) shows the influence



FIG. 1. COURTYARD OF TOMB OF NEFERHOTPE

haste to recant. The court was back at Thebes. The names of the old gods had been recut on the walls. Women were once more relegated to their proper place (or were wise enough to let men think so). But neither state religions nor state proprieties touch the heart of life. Art may; and, as it had perhaps given the earliest and plainest prophecy of impending change, it now retained its heresies more stubbornly than elsewhere, though forced outwardly to conform to priestly essentials. It seems as if the art-schools of Thebes had been utterly ruined by the upheaval or had lost the best of their younger men to the new movement, and that in the vengeance taken on the traitor-king and his adherents

least and in its poorer forms. The other is that of our Neferhotpe, chief scribe and overseer of the cattle of Amon in the reign of Ay.

Its scenes, though of course conforming to the restored religion, show a marked individuality and are quite plainly by the hand of one having the training and spirit of the schools of El Amarna, though they are not quite paralleled there. They might even be cited as among the chief works of the unorthodox movement, though subsequent to its failure; or as giving the best proofs of its power, because shorn of its worst eccentricities while retaining much of the free movement, strong characterization, human interest, and soft coloring of the period.

THE EGYPTIAN EXPEDITION 1920-21

The subjects treated are also a compromise between the two eras. The narration of the king's generosity to his loyal official is twice repeated, and while the burial scene, contrary to ancient rule, is portrayed in the outer hall, its place in the inner room is, as a reprisal, occupied by an

secured for it. The rock-pillars of the inner room are decorated with commonplace pictures of the worship of the gods.

The merit of the paintings, apart from the welcome choice of subject, cannot be conveyed by line drawings, as it lies in delicate outlines, fine detail, and restrained

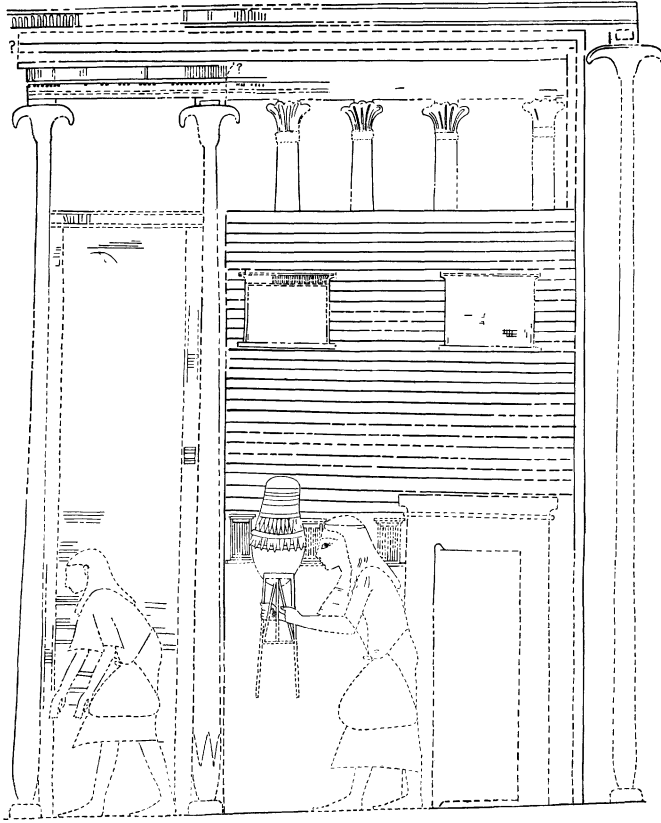


FIG. 2

extensive scene showing the broad estates of Neferhotpĕ (or those of Amon in his charge), rich in cattle, vineyards, gardens, and papyrus pools, as also in magazines, workshops, kitchens, and serfs to work in them. A thank-offering for this wealth is being brought by the family, who cross the river in ships to present it in the temple of Amon on the east bank. The full treatment of this mundane subject we owe perhaps to the cover which the darkness

coloration, one or all of which have everywhere suffered severely.¹

The picture of the king's reward to Neferhotpĕ contains some attractive detail. On the right (beyond fig. 2) the king and queen lean from the palace window to be-

¹Guided sometimes by earlier copies, I have ventured to indicate by broken lines how the lacking parts might be restored. For published copies see Wilkinson's *Manners and Customs*, I, pp. 359, 366; III, Pl. LXVII and Erman's *Ägypten*, p. 250.

stow gifts on our hero. As soon as he is dismissed he enters his waiting chariot and drives off at a gallop to show his honors to his wife and children, who have themselves been entering fully into the events of the day elsewhere. A house in this connection (fig. 2) involves us in a crucial problem. It is not only that the Egyptian draughtsman drew for those who knew well what a house of their time was like, so that he needed only to be careful about detail, ignoring or travestying the main outlines. In addition, we have lost some

to reconcile with anything else. We should then have the same scene as in the Tomb of Ay at El Amarna, except that there the couple attend together instead of separately. Thus this would represent the Theban palace of the same (?) Ay, now king, freed from the traditional mode of drawing it, or showing a building which combined in a novel way the new architecture and the old. Husband and wife, having received their gifts in the harim and the selamluk of the palace respectively (only a wall with a door in it separates the gar-

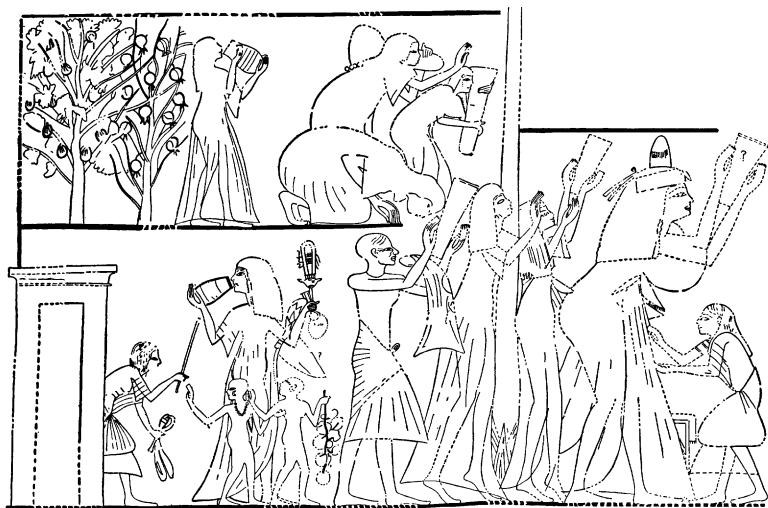


FIG. 3

features that might have linked it decisively to pictures of the palace at El Amarna. On the other hand, it has close resemblances to the Theban mansions; small windows, e. g., are always indicated in private houses, but never in the palace, though, of course, it is likely that there was only a difference of size and luxury in the latter. Is this, then, meant for the royal palace or for a private house? Did the space above the servant between the columns show only a fellow-servant, or did it exhibit the large window, and frame the king or queen once more leaning down to bestow gifts? For the attitude of the lady, Meritrê, and her attendants is exactly that of favored persons honored by royalty, and the prostrate servant outside (fig. 3) is hard

dens of the two establishments), go forth to meet and congratulate one another. If, on the other hand, we take this to be Neferhotpê's house, the interpretation must be that while her husband is away having audience with the king, Meritrê comes from her separate (?) quarters, or from the garden where she has been making bouquets and busies herself in giving orders to the servants and seeing that a generous provision is made for the banquet inevitable on the occasion. (I regret to say that one of the ladies—perhaps that one in the rear—took advantage of this hospitality later on to imbibe too much, and cut a very lamentable figure in consequence.) Having done so and been attired in her best, she goes forth on the arm of

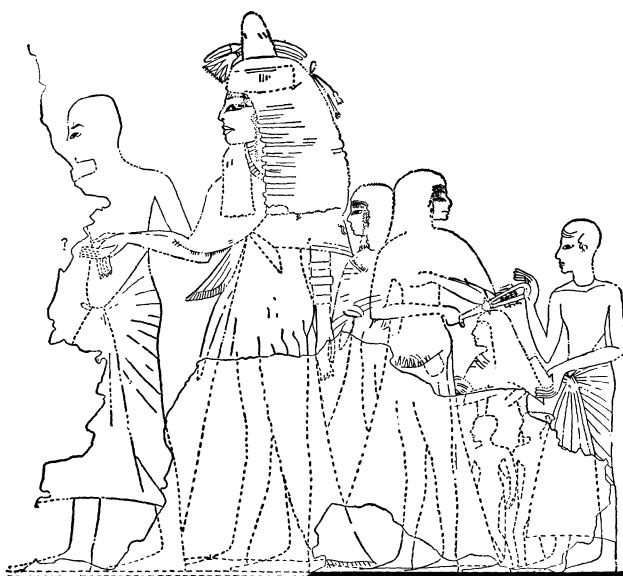


FIG. 4



FIG. 5

her major-domo or a male relative to meet her lord (fig. 4). One may hesitate long over this hermeneutical problem. The action certainly fits the palace theory much better, but on the other hand it is somewhat bold to conjure up a queen of whom there is no trace, for whose action there is no parallel, and who, is elsewhere shown at the king's side being gracious to Neferhotpĕ. Moreover, the private house of the official is often shown in such scenes.²

The theme is perhaps of more interest than the execution in the present state of the picture, but both are typical of the Akhnatōn period. The subject might occur a little earlier, as the scene in Tomb 90 warns us, but not this treatment and this composition; involved groups would

element to which the art of El Amarna paid such a tribute has not lost much ground by the counter-revolution, notably in the acknowledgment of the complexity and curves of women's dress and ornaments.

Art still feigned that women appeared in public in charge of their husbands and under a strict code of behavior and dress, though this had probably gone by the board long since under the growth of urban life, order, and luxury. The picture of Meritrê running through the house to decorate it and keeping the servants in a bustle (or, on the

other theory, attending alone to receive recognition of her part in her husband's success) brings the new order of things into the province of art, and her changed

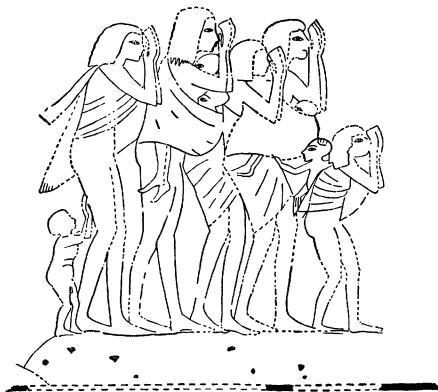


FIG. 6



FIG. 7

then have been impossible, for *crowding* was deemed incompatible with dignified art until the reign of Akhnatōn's father, at any rate.³ One feels, too, that the feminine

² In Tombs 80, 90, 217, and once or twice at El Amarna.

³ Compare, e. g., the appended reception of a promoted priest by his womenkind a reign earlier (fig. 5).

attitude when the approach of the chariot is heard and she goes out a proud, if mature, beauty, as conscious of her worth as when she crossed her husband's then modest threshold for the first time, may be full of restrained sentiment. There seems to be a touch of humor too; for it is always the last of the group that lags behind to quaff with averted head

from the jar which should have reached the house without loss and the porter seems to be threatening with his staff the impudent children who in bad company have learnt bad manners. The affected, self-conscious posture of the lady as she stoops to allow a servant to adorn, arrange, or scent her dress is in strong contrast

temper when attentions are shown him by one of the young women.

Figure 2 shows only the house proper. It lay under a broad roof supported on two columns, the right-hand one of which is seen in figure 2. The two others may perhaps be added to these, making a portico supported on four columns along the front.



FIG. 8. ROCK-CUT STATUES, TOMB OF NEFERHOTPĚ

with the over-elongation of the figures of the girls who keep bounding in the air from the toes and working up a ravishing excitement. There is a very promising attempt to give portraiture or character to the face of the youth, but, if so, the artist shows imperfect control of this new gift; for in the one case he wears as distinctly an elderly as in the other a youthful appearance, and it is too unsophisticated an age to attribute the change to a youth's disgust at enforced attendance on women at a social function and the recovery of his

The narrow part of the house between the two columns is, I imagine, the frontage, or the central part of it which contains the distinctive features. The lower part is painted with bright bands of color. The upper may have contained a large open window such as palaces show. If so, this belonged to a second story. With the broader part we have changed to the side aspect, at least as regards the upper, barred part, where the small grated windows would be in place. The bars (red lines on yellow) must imply painted decoration on

a plastered surface; for long planks are as impossible as undesirable in Egypt.⁴ The door one would expect to be on the frontage. Windows on a ground floor are unique and may point to increasing security. Was there also an open loggia as a third story, as the four short columns under the roof suggest? It seems to be more likely that this was not the case, but that, in the type of building which Akhnatôn had introduced, the walls of the second story were not carried up to the roof, this being supported on columns instead, at any rate on

ing a problem whose solution is besprinkled with interrogation marks, it is calculated to induce despair, or contempt of any such discussions, when the real remedy is the careful collection and comparison of further material, and a cessation of the destruction and neglect of surviving items of knowledge—the distinctive missions, in short, of our Egyptian Expedition.

From the funeral scene two excerpts may be given. One (fig. 7) is a group of mourning women for comparison with the treatment of the same subject in the earlier

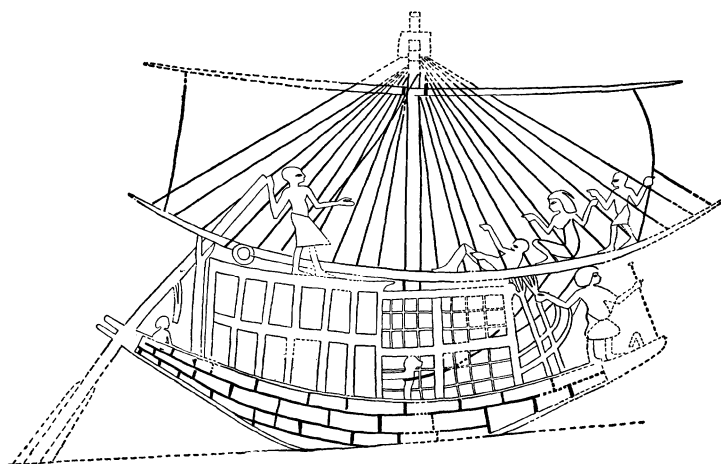


FIG. 9

the frontage. The larger modern houses at Kurneh are often so built that the upper story is a pretense, being in fact a terrace inclosed by walls but open to the sky, where the women can take the air in all privacy. Akhnatôn's device is superior in that it afforded both air and shelter. The edifice, then, seems clearly modeled on the palace at El Amarna. It is strange if that novel building, which found no imitators in its neighborhood, caused sufficient stir at Thebes to induce the rich to imitate it there. Thus, after all, this detailed picture of an Egyptian house, it must be confessed, is, like many of its fellows, not much better than a hieroglyphic sign of indeterminate value, only the general meaning of which can at present be surmised by us. 'Present-

⁴For similar treatment of a house see Wilkinson, *Manners and Customs*, I, p. 377.

tomb, No. 181.⁵ The result is somewhat disappointing. Our post-revolutionary picture is much less effective than the earlier one. There the crowd of women in their sorrow are careless of appearance, or of jostling and incommoding one another by their wild gesticulations. Here only two or three of the older women show grief in their faces; the others mechanically pour dust on their heads from a dustless floor, and the artist has arranged them carefully, stringing them out in line, almost as in the good old days. It may be that he was less talented or merely that funerals had not been a subject in vogue in the new capital. Or we can hear him growling, "A funeral scene in the front hall! O you gloomy priests! Well, I suppose it must be, but—it shall be commonplace!"

⁵BULLETIN, M.M.A., Dec., 1920, Part II, p. 33.

THE EGYPTIAN EXPEDITION 1920-21

In another group (fig. 6) there is less shrinking from the confusion natural in such conditions. These women are either the poor relations who have had to drag their encumbrances with them to the

happy acceptance of things as they are which seems the distinctive note of the religion and art of the Aton. This group is now scarcely to be deciphered and is cited here only for the subject and grouping. The



FIG. 10. WALL RELIEF, TOMB OF NEFERHOTEP

funeral, or the nurse girls of the mourning ladies. Each has a child slung in the cloak at her breast, riding on her back or her side, or toddling behind. The women are well girt up, for they have just had to wade ashore from the boats. The recognition of the burden as well as the brightness of babyhood is perhaps a survival of that

older art went on the assumption that only negresses and slaves bore babies, since older children only could be relied upon to preserve the decorum of ladies in public; whereas an official of Amenhotep III lets himself be seen with three naked children on his knee at once (Akhnatôn being one of them, who thus did as a

father only as he had been done by in early years).

The growing traffic of Egypt with Syria and more remote lands oversea must have led to a large increase both in sea and river craft, especially in times of peace. They are introduced therefore more liberally in tombs of this period.⁶ Several passenger vessels are shown in our tomb, one of which is reproduced here (fig. 9). Two men or boys are skylarking in the rigging. They have even tempted a young woman to join them, and the captain seems to be rebuking their behavior. The boat contains a cabin, half-inclosed, half-open, provided with a couch, though this is being used at the moment as a cleat to which to make fast the sheets. The tusk-like poles in front are probably, handrails for use in going below.

The dignified figures of the occupant and his wife going in and out in the entrance (fig. 10), and their lifelike, if stiff, statues resting on chairs on a dais in the far recesses of the tomb (fig. 8), both witness how little variation of form there was in these essential elements of tomb decoration, though a good deal of difference in merit of execution. Cut in the round in poorish rock, the

⁶In Tombs 40, 57, 93, 217, and that of Mery at El Amarna.

statues might be of almost any period within reason; but the sunk reliefs are excellent, and recall the best years just before the revolution, the best work of it (minus its little affectations), or the best sculptures after it (plus rather more conscientiousness and delicacy). The texts in the tomb, it may be said, are full of reminiscences of those at El Amarna.

The flies and dirt in the tomb of Neferhotpĕ being so very deterrent, it will probably be heard of again in the annual reports of the labors of our Expedition. I owe the photographs to H. Burton's painstaking skill. Charles Kyrle Wilkinson and my wife also have been associated with me in this season's work, so that a goodly number of colored copies have been added to the records of the Museum. The former especially might tell a tale of pictures secured under every disability and discomfort. Figure 11 is a specimen of his salvage work in the Tomb of Senozem (No. 1), the picture lying in total darkness and being threatened with destruction. It is a good specimen of the mythological subjects, illustrating the spells of the Book of the Dead, which form so large a part of the subject matter of the decoration of tombs from the period of Neferhotpĕ onwards.

N. DE GARIS DAVIES.



FIG. 11